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## ABSTRACT

In February 1942, a letter to the editor of the Pittsburgh "Courier," the nation's largest black owned newspaper, started the "Double V" (for victory at home and victory abroad) campaign, which stressed the right of blacks to have equality in the United States since they were fighting inequality abroad. As the "Courier" devoted a great deal of newspaper space to the campaign, the campaign was endorsed by many other black owned newspapers as well as by white owned papers and organizations. A content analysis shows, however, that the campaign was virtually dead by October 1942, which is significant because it was the first evidence that any black owned paper outside the South had cut back on the campaign and because the "Courier" had originated the campaign. One possible explanation for the gradually toned-down campaign of the "Courier" is that the war-time prosperity of middle class blacks demanded a movement that would conserve black progress rather than one that might undo it. Black men were being commissioned for the first time in the armed forces, and black men and women were being hired in large numbers at defense plants. The Double V campaign had accomplished all that it was able to accomplish. As the campaign began to decline, the "Courier" demonstrated its good faith by replacing campaign material with positive articles and picture layouts about black gains. (HTH)

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HISTORY DIVISION

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER'S

DOUBLE V CAMPAIGN

IN 1942

By

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Presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism,  
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## The Pittsburgh Courier's Double V Campaign in 1942

In January 1942, a 26-year-old black cafeteria worker at the Cessna Aircraft Corp. in Wichita, Kan., wrote to the Pittsburgh Courier, the country's largest black newspaper with a national circulation of almost 200,000. He wanted to express his views on patriotism.

Like all true Americans, my greatest desire at this time . . . is for a complete victory over the forces of evil which threaten our existence today. Behind that desire is also a desire to serve this, my country, in the most advantageous way.

Most of our leaders are suggesting that we sacrifice every other ambition to the paramount one, victory. With this I agree; but I also wonder if another victory could not be achieved at the same time. . . .

Being an American of dark complexion . . . these questions flash through my mind: "Should I sacrifice my life to live half American?" "Will things be better for the next generation in the peace to follow?" "Would it be demanding too much to demand full citizenship rights in exchange for the sacrificing of my life?" "Is the kind of America I know worth defending?" "Will America be a true and pure democracy after this war?" "Will colored Americans suffer still the indignities that have been heaped upon them in the past?" . . .

I suggest that while we keep defense and victory in the forefront that we don't lose sight of our fight for true democracy at home.

The V for victory sign is being displayed prominently in all so-called democratic countries which are fighting for victory over aggression, slavery and tyranny. If this V sign means that to those now engaged in this great conflict, then let we colored Americans adopt the double VV for a double victory. The first V for victory over our enemies from without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within. For surely those who perpetuate these ugly prejudices here are seeking to destroy our<sup>1</sup> democratic form of government just as surely as the Axis forces.

James G. Thompson's words had an immediate impact. In the next weekly issue of the Courier (Feb. 7), four Double V drawings appeared; a Double V campaign was announced a week later on the front page; and within a month the newspaper was running massive amounts of Double V stories, photographs and drawings. By mid-July, the Courier claimed it had recruited 200,000 Double V members,<sup>2</sup> which was one of the largest black groups in the U.S.

The campaign's rapid acceleration, and its appeal to readers, was not surprising. For several years, the black press had been complaining about discrimination in the armed services. Black men couldn't join the marines, coast guard or air corps; the navy would accept them only as messboys; and the army confined them to four units. Openings in the latter seldom occurred. This discrimination angered blacks--since they couldn't participate in the country's defense, they felt like second-class citizens. Thus, a struggle for status developed.<sup>3</sup>

Thompson's letter did not express anything radically new, but it did have a catchy slogan--the words "Double V"--which captured the interest of blacks and brought about a national cohesiveness as numerous black newspapers began pushing the campaign's goals. The timing was superb. With the U.S. involvement in World War II, government officials began stressing the need of a united home front to ensure victory, and many blacks realized that whites could no longer ignore the issue of discrimination.

By July, however, the campaign was declining, and it virtually was dead by October. It survived in the Courier until 1943, but the number of Double V items and the amount of column inches they consumed were a mere trickle compared to the previous torrent.

Other historical studies of the Double V have examined the campaign's origins and broad aims in the entire black press without studying individual newspapers and the intensity with which the campaign was pushed from week to week.<sup>4</sup> This paper focuses on what the Pittsburgh Courier's Double V campaign contained and how much space was allotted to it and examines the factors behind its decline.

While previous studies have included anything in the black press that even vaguely expressed the Double V goals, this study is limited to those

articles, photographs and drawings that specifically mentioned the campaign or contained its "VV" symbol. This approach eliminates a problem faced in other Double V studies--deciding what material to include--and allows a more detailed, precise examination of the Courier's campaign.

\* \* \* \* \*

The campaign was introduced on Feb. 7 when a drawing that quickly became familiar to readers appeared in the upper left-hand corner of the Courier's front page. It contained the words, "Democracy. Double VV victory. At home--abroad." And between two large V's, there was the American symbol--an eagle.<sup>5</sup>

Then, on Feb. 14, the Courier sharply escalated the campaign, devoting 5½ times more space to it than in the preceding week. In a box at the top of the front page, the paper declared in large, bold-face type that it had been "inundated" with hundreds of telegrams and letters approving the campaign. Thus, it felt compelled to restate Thompson's general theme:

Americans all are involved in a gigantic war effort to assure victory for the cause of freedom. . . . We, as colored Americans, are determined to protect our country, our form of government, and the freedoms which we cherish for ourselves and for the rest of the world, therefore we adopted the Double "V" War Cry--victory over our enemies at home and victory over our enemies on the battlefields abroad. Thus, in our fight for freedom, we wage a two-pronged attack against our enslavers at home and those abroad who would enslave us. WE HAVE A STAKE IN THIS FIGHT. . . . WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO!<sup>6</sup>

The Courier's intent was obvious. While it wanted to publicize the campaign, it also wanted to convince nervous whites that the Courier wasn't suggesting blacks should be unpatriotic.

In the same issue, the Courier ran the first of what soon became an avalanche of photographs of smiling blacks flashing a V with each hand. The pictures always were posed, and they quickly became monotonous, but the message was clear: Many blacks liked the Double V. Within two weeks, this "happy" effect was escalated by running seven photographs together in an

eight-column layout.<sup>7</sup> This "block" approach became common as the Courier realized its value in pitching the campaign nationally. In a typical issue, the paper ran six pictures from Milwaukee, St. Louis and Chicago and claimed in a cutline: "From the rock-bound coast of Maine to the sunny gates of 'Frisco, the 'Double V' campaign is sweeping the nation."<sup>8</sup>

The photographs varied. One woman had a "VV" on the back of her dress and another was holding a "VV" quilt; a class of sixth graders flashed the Double V sign; a soldier formed a Double V with his hands and two military flags; children displayed a Double V poster while selling war bonds and stamps; and a six-month-old girl was placed over a Double V drawing.<sup>9</sup> There was also the "Double V Girl of the Week." The first one was Mabel Burks of Chicago, who was shown against a backdrop of two large V's on March 28<sup>10</sup>. A new woman was granted celebrity status each week.

More impressive, however, were a small group of well-known blacks who appeared in Double V photographs. They included: singers Marian Anderson and Etta Moten; bankleaders Lionel Hampton, Lucky Millinder and Jimmie Lunceford; New York Councilman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.; Assistant Secretary of the NAACP Roy Wilkins; Joe Louis' wife, Marva; and Miss Bronze America of 1941, Beatrice Williams.<sup>11</sup> Their support was hammered home in ringing phrases. "Like thousands of other race patriots, she wants victory at home against prejudice and bias as well as in foreign lands against enemies of democracy," the Courier assured readers under Beatrice Williams' three-column, front-page photograph.

But the support wasn't solely from blacks. On Feb. 28, only three weeks after the campaign began, the Courier ran two photographs on page 1 showing two blacks and two whites, who worked together in New York City, flashing the Double V while standing side by side. The paper called it "the true American spirit."<sup>12</sup> And six months later, there was a white "Double V Girl of the Week."<sup>13</sup>

The most striking support, however, came from famous whites, most of whom were photographed either reading the Courier or wearing a Double V lapel pin. Among them were: politicians Wendell Willkie and Thomas Dewey as well as House majority leader John McCormack; columnist and broadcaster Dorothy Thompson; novelist Sinclair Lewis; comedian Eddie Cantor; CBS' William Paley and NBC's David Sarnoff; and movie stars Humphrey Bogart, Ingrid Bergman and Gary Cooper.<sup>14</sup> Numerous governors and lesser-known congressmen also backed the campaign.

Both Dewey and McCormack were outspoken about the campaign. Dewey told a Courier reporter that "all Americans must participate in the terrible struggle ahead--in our munitions factories at home--and in every branch of our armed forces on the battle fronts." He then praised the Courier's Double V campaign. "Only by guarding our hard won rights as free people can we hope to enjoy the blessings of peace. . .when victory is finally won," he said.<sup>15</sup> McCormack issued a lengthy statement in which he equated the Double V with what Abraham Lincoln was referring to when he advocated a government of the people, by the people and for the people:

It was in this same spirit that President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued his Executive Order of last June. . . "I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin." By these historic words the President assured our people, and gave unmistakable notice to our enemies that in this war we are not fighting alone for democracy as a theory, but for democracy as a rule of every-day life.<sup>16</sup>

The most vocal group, according to the Courier, were readers, who wrote "hundreds" of letters about the campaign by Feb. 21.<sup>17</sup> On that day, the newspaper ran seven letters, whose geographical distribution was typical of what followed weekly--New York City; Wichita, Kan.; Toledo, Ohio; Charleroi, Pa.; Los Angeles; Philadelphia; and Washington, D.C. The most noteworthy letter in that issue was from Thompson, who explained why he originally had written to the Courier. He said he had hoped his letter would result in "a

nationwide drive in which every home and every car would carry in full-view these Double 'V' for victory signs."<sup>18</sup>

By March 7, the Courier was running 15 letters, and titles began appearing on them, suggestive of what each contained--"Detroit is Impressed," "Says Double V is Tops" and "Double Victory Important."<sup>19</sup> Were any of the letters critical of the campaign? The Courier never said. One scathing letter was from "a 19-year-old Colored Boy" in Columbus, Ohio:

If and when the American White Man loses this war, I am wondering if he will think why he did not give the colored man a chance with the white in the Navy? It may be too late for he may not have the Navy himself! He may ask why he did not give the colored man a bigger part to play in the war. He may say, "We could have used the colored man but we didn't. Why didn't I give more jobs in the factories, where he was much needed at the time? We have found that we could have won the war with his aid, that we couldn't win without him. Why didn't we let more of these colored men into the Army and the Marine Corps? Why didn't we let him do more than flunky work? That is all too late now. We were only thinking of ourselves." Your Double V campaign will help to avoid the above situation.<sup>20</sup>

Other letters were equally bitter. A Texas woman said she felt the Double V campaign was important "because many Americans are more dangerous to us (blacks) than some of our enemies abroad."<sup>21</sup> In Oregon, another woman wrote that the Double V "means more to us than the 'Buy a Stamp' or 'Buy a Bond' drive!"<sup>22</sup> And an Ohio Baptist minister claimed the campaign "will teach the Mr. Charlie of the South a new lesson and will shake the foundations of the hypocritical North."<sup>23</sup>

Some writers were more positive. A Georgia resident called the Double V "the greatest race proclamation since emancipation."<sup>24</sup> Then, there was the following from an unidentified person:

Congratulations to the "Double V" campaign. I have got up a group of fifty men to carve marks and write the "Double V" emblem on everything that is movable and immovable here in S.C. We cut some (Double V drawings) out of the paper and stuck them in the trolley bus. Give us the buttons and stickers and we will put them in the right places.<sup>25</sup>

There also was a letter from New York Governor Herbert Lehman, which included the following: "I am sure that large numbers of people will enroll

in this campaign. It is my very sincere hope that every man and woman in this country will give of himself and herself without stint and without thought of self to the cause of democracy here and abroad."<sup>26</sup> Lehman never said he supported the Double V, but the Courier didn't care. Its headline proclaimed: "N.Y. Governor Endorses 'VV'."

Not wanting to depend solely on letters and a few outspoken white politicians, the Courier frequently reiterated the campaign's themes in editorials and columns. On Feb. 28, only three weeks after the Double V began, columnist Edgar T. Rouzeau spoke out. He encouraged blacks to verbally "shame" any whites guilty of prejudice, pointing out that someone had to be either totally for democracy or against it. To him, there was no middle ground.<sup>27</sup>

A week later, columnist Frank E. Bolden fired the next salvo, and his words were noticeably tougher. His views were summed up in one sentence (the capital letters were his): "THOSE WHO DO NOT WANT COLORED PEOPLE TO FULLY PARTICIPATE IN THE WAR EFFORT SHOULD BE CLASSED AS TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY, BECAUSE THEY ARE BLOCKING THE ASSISTANCE OF A POWERFUL ALLY THAT HAS NEVER SHOWN A SHORTAGE OF COURAGE AND SACRIFICE--COLORED AMERICANS!" He stressed that the Courier would push the Double V until its goals were accomplished.<sup>28</sup>

Then, on March 28, a Courier editorial had an ominous line: "If we are to have no democracy at home, it does not make a great deal of difference what happens abroad."<sup>29</sup>

Such strong remarks, coming from the country's largest black newspaper, understandably made whites jittery. Apparently for that reason, the Courier already had restated the campaign's goals on March 21: "The 'Double V' combines . . . the aims and ideals of all men, black as well as white, to make this a more perfect union of peace-loving men and women, living in complete harmony

and equality." It also called blacks "the most loyal segment of the American population."<sup>30</sup>

On April 11, only two days after the Allied surrender at Bataan, the Courier made a supreme effort to cloak the Double V in the red, white and blue of patriotism. The occasion was the espousal of a Double V Creed across the top of the front page in large type:

We pledge allegiance to the United States of America. . . to its all-out victory over the forces of our enemies on the battlefronts in every section of the world. We pledge allegiance to the principles and tenets of democracy as embodied in the Constitution of the United States and in the Bill of Rights. To full participation in the fruits of this victory. . . victory both at home and abroad . . . we pledge our all!<sup>31</sup>

Following that, the Courier gradually toned down its criticism and settled into a line of reasoning it considered beyond reproach. It was stated succinctly in an editorial on Aug. 8:

Our position is . . . that all races and peoples shielded by our flag should present a solid front for victory. We say to every Negro man, woman and child: do everything within your power to gain victory. Give your property; offer your lives. Our patriotism is not conditional, for this is "Our Country." But we would be less than men if, while we are giving up our property and sacrificing our lives, we do not agitate, contend and demand those rights guaranteed to all free men. This would be neither patriotism nor common sense.<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile, the Double V was being hyped in numerous ways. There were "Double V for Victory" dances, the selection of Double V queens, Double V flag raising ceremonies, the planting of a "'VV' Garden" at Kansas State Industrial School<sup>33</sup> and a Double V professional baseball game in St. Louis between the New York Black Yankees and the Birmingham Black Barons. As thousands watched, drum and bugle corps formed a giant Double V on the field before the game.<sup>34</sup>

Much of this activity was sponsored by Double V clubs. The Courier began encouraging readers to form clubs on April 11, when it announced a Double V Creed across the top of the front page while another box at the bottom proclaimed, "5¢ Buys the 'Double V' Pin!"<sup>35</sup> To form a club, a group had to buy

only \$1 of pins or stickers (the latter cost a penny apiece).<sup>36</sup> The publicity was effective. The number of clubs grew from 38 on May 2 to 206 three months later in 34 states, Washington, D.C., and the Canal Zone.<sup>37</sup>

On June 13, the Courier began using "'Double V' Club News"<sup>38</sup> (in the same issue the paper started selling "'Double V' Service Emblems" to those with relatives in the service<sup>39</sup>), and it became apparent that club members had a wide variety of interests. Some wrote to congressmen to protest the poll tax; others sent letters to the radio networks, asking that two programs, "Southernaires" and "Wings Over Jordan," not be broadcast simultaneously so that blacks could listen to both; and they met with business officials to promote non-discriminatory hiring.<sup>40</sup> The biggest activity, however, was helping servicemen. Clubs sent books, magazines, cigarettes, ash trays, handkerchiefs, shoe polish, skull caps, candies and cookies to numerous military installations.<sup>41</sup>

Other organizations also promoted the campaign. The most notable were the NAACP and the CIO's United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (more commonly known as the UAW), both of which unanimously endorsed the Double V.<sup>42</sup> In the resolution adopted by the UAW, which was the country's largest union with about 700,000 members, the Double V campaign was described as expressing "vividly and concisely the aims of the labor movement in this war for a victory over the forces of Fascism and reaction and oppression both within this nation and in the world at large."<sup>43</sup>

The campaign also received strong religious support.<sup>44</sup> On March 21, the national Negro Baptist Council designated Easter Sunday as "National Negro Double Victory Day." It called on ministers at 40,000 black churches to preach on Easter for "justice, enfranchisement, equal educational opportunities and salaries, unrestricted participation in the armed forces of the United States,

employment in all defense industries regardless of race, creed or color, expansion of WPA, NYA and CCC unemployment insurance and old age pension security for . . . all workers Negro and white, north and south, from now on."<sup>45</sup>

A week later there was a memorable artist's drawing in the Courier. As two people stood on a hillside looking upward, Christ emerged from a cloud holding a V in each hand. "This is a 'Double V' scene," said the outline. "Its import and significance in the current struggle cannot be disassociated from its spiritual implications as expressed in Revelations."<sup>46</sup>

Possibly because they were afraid of losing circulation (and thus money) to the Pittsburgh paper, most of the black press embraced the Double V goals of victory at home and abroad without specifically mentioning that it was the Courier's campaign. However, there were a few exceptions. The most prominent endorsement came on March 14 from the nationally-known People's Voice in New York City.<sup>47</sup> That was followed in the next three months by support from black papers in Los Angeles; Aiken, S.C.; Rochester, N.Y.; Washington, D.C.; Columbus, Ohio; and New York City.<sup>48</sup> The smallest paper to endorse the Double V campaign was the Coppy Cat Gazette in Portland, Ore. Edited and published by two boys, 13 and 14, the four-year-old weekly had 75 subscribers and sold for two cents an issue.<sup>49</sup>

Additional support came from the music industry. On March 14, only five weeks after the campaign began, the Courier announced that L.C. Johnson and Andy Razaf had composed a new song, "Yankee Doodle Tan," which was inspired by the Double V. The newspaper called it "the most sensational and stirring patriotic song ever dedicated to the Negro in the armed services of America. Johnson and Razaf have hit the keynote of Victory Abroad over our enemies and Victory at home over our enemies." A photograph of the composers had the Courier's Double V drawing in the background.<sup>50</sup>

Lionel Hampton's band, which he renamed "Lionel Hampton and His 'Double V'

Band,"<sup>51</sup> performed the song on an NBC radio national program in May, and the Courier reported there were two million listeners.<sup>52</sup> The paper immediately began selling sheet music of the song for 30 cents,<sup>53</sup> and it also held a contest in which a Houston schoolteacher won \$25 for best describing what the song "means to you."<sup>54</sup>

Even after "Yankee Doodle Tan" was announced, Bolden suggested in the Courier that someone should write a "rousing military song" about the Double V. He said it was needed to give blacks "a chance to sell our selves to our citizenry via the radio."<sup>55</sup> The result was two more songs, "Under the Double V" and "We Want a Double 'V' in Our Victory," neither of which was a hit.<sup>56</sup> The latter was written for and played all seven days at the 43rd annual national black Elks convention in August.

The women's clothing industry and hairstylists also helped publicize the campaign. "Double V" hats were displayed in the Courier on April 11, and there was a "V for Victory" dress shown the following week.<sup>57</sup> By the end of the month, a Hollywood designer had come out with a matching Double V hat and gown which she said was her "humble contribution to this great cause."<sup>58</sup> In the same issue, the paper noted some Texas women had attended a formal black ball with Double V parts in their hair.<sup>59</sup> A Double V hairstyle -- sometimes called a "doubler"-- evolved quickly.

The Double V was pitched at sports fans, too. On March 14, the Courier ran the most imaginative photograph of the entire campaign. It showed UCLA basketball star Roger "Bill" Terry leaping in the air with his legs spread-- his legs and his shadow each formed a V.<sup>60</sup> A week later, there was a photograph of a black sprinter who won twice at the prestigious Knights of Columbus track meet in Madison Square Garden. There were two artist's V's in the background, and the cutline said the runner "automatically became one of the leaders in the Courier's 'Double V' drive by virtue of his sensational performances."<sup>61</sup>

In the same issue, columnist Chester L. Washington wrote about an unidentified black boxing champion who had signed up "with Uncle Sam for his greatest fight." He supposedly told Washington: "I'm with Uncle Sam 100 per cent to win a smashing victory over our foreign enemies, but I'm also all-out for a Double Victory in America, one which will punch the ears off of our foes abroad and knock the socks off of Prejudice at home."<sup>62</sup>

The Double V even showed up in the comics section. On Feb. 21, the "Sunnyboy" strip, drawn by the Courier's Wilbert L. Holloway (who also designed the Double V drawing), emphasized the Double V.<sup>63</sup> The campaign appeared in the strip five more times in the next seven months.<sup>64</sup>

The Courier could be subtle, too. On March 7, it replaced ordinary straight rules between stories with rules consisting of two long dashes with a VV between them. It was a brilliant stroke--wherever a reader looked in the paper, he was reminded subconsciously of the campaign.<sup>65</sup> Then, on Sept. 12, a second journalistic gimmick appeared. Where there was a small space at the end of a story, the following bold face filler frequently was inserted: "Fifteen million people with one unified thought, 'Double V; Victory at Home and Abroad.'"<sup>66</sup>

The Courier also publicized the Double V by using headlines extolling the campaign on stories that never mentioned it specifically. This first occurred on Feb. 21 when columnist Billy Rowe reported a New York City speech by writer Pearl Buck under the subhead: "VV--Victory at Home and Victory Abroad--VV." She didn't talk about the Double V campaign although she did discuss some of its goals:

Everywhere among the colored peoples there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will. . . . Let Americans be sure of this. . . . Unless we can declare ourselves whole for democracy now and do away with prejudices against colored peoples, we shall lose our chance to make the world what

we want it to be, we shall even lose our place in the world; whatever our military victories are.<sup>67</sup>

Double V headlines on non-campaign stories occurred most frequently in Rowe's entertainment column. In 5½ months, he used eight subheads such as the following:

There Is No Place  
In The Japanese  
VV--Rising Sun For The Negro--VV<sup>68</sup>

V--Let's Go Americans--V  
V--'Double V' and Insure--V  
V--Victory At Home, Abroad--V  
V--And A Lasting Peace For Free Men--V<sup>69</sup>

Join The 'Double V' Corps  
Don't Be A Slacker, Be A Backer<sup>70</sup>

During the rapid success of the Double V campaign, the Courier did not forget Thompson. On March 28, a photograph showed bandleader Jimmie Lunceford congratulating Thompson "on his brilliant idea."<sup>71</sup> Then, the paper sent George S. Schuyler, a columnist and associate editor, to interview Thompson in Wichita, Kan., in April. The story's tone was set in the first paragraph when Thompson was portrayed as a black hero.

For 900 miles by airplane and train from Pittsburgh to Wichita, Kansas, I had been wondering what manner of person was James Gratz Thompson whose stirring letter to The Pittsburgh Courier had launched the nationwide "Double V" campaign. I knew that he was young and endowed with unusual gifts of expression. I knew that in his memorable letters he had expressed the feelings of millions of Negroes, young and old, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was clear he was a thoughtful young man and his photograph indicated that he was handsome and upstanding. Now, as I pressed the buzzer at the front door of the five-room one-story house the Thompsons own at 1239 Indiana Avenue, my curiosity was to be satisfied. At last I was to see and talk with the Negro youth whose words had thrilled a million COURIER readers.

Then, after noting that Thompson had quit his job at the cafeteria in March when he was refused a five-cent-an-hour raise, Schuyler described him as "the idol of Wichita's 6,000 Negro citizens."<sup>72</sup>

In June, Thompson replaced W.C. Page as director of the Courier's national Double V campaign.<sup>73</sup> A Hopkinsville, Ky., minister was so enthused that he delivered a sermon on Thompson. "Jesus Christ, our 'Double Victory' Friend, kissed the idea (of the Double V) when he kneeled and prayed in the Garden of Gethsemane," said the Rev. L.S. Grooms. "The idea of 'Double Victory' did not leave the earth, it simply remained silent until the selected person (Thompson) was notified and the time pronounced."<sup>74</sup>

Thompson remained head of the Double V campaign until February 1943, when he was inducted into the service.<sup>75</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

From the beginning of the campaign until the end of 1942, the Courier ran 970 Double V articles (stories, editorials, letters to the editor and advertisements), photographs and drawings (including the "Sunnyboy" comic strip). There were 469 articles (48.35 percent), 380 photographs (39.18 percent) and 121 drawings (12.47 percent).

Three measurements of the campaign are charted week by week: number of Double V items (graph A), column inches of Double V items (graph B) and percent of the news hole (the space available for copy after advertisements are placed) filled by Double V items (graph C).

The lines on all three graphs are highly similar. They show that the campaign took off quickly, peaked in April and May and definitely was declining by July. It continued its downslide (with no explanation to the readers) until October, when the Double V virtually was dead. A comparison of the Courier for Sept. 26 and Oct. 3 is revealing: The number of Double V items used dropped from 16 to 5, the number of column inches declined from 158½ to 49½ and the news hole percent dipped from 3.65 to 1.16. All three figures on Oct. 3 were the lowest since Feb. 7, when the campaign began. The Double V flared up momentarily at the end of October when 88.7 percent

GRAPH A

15

NUMBER OF DOUBLE V ITEMS

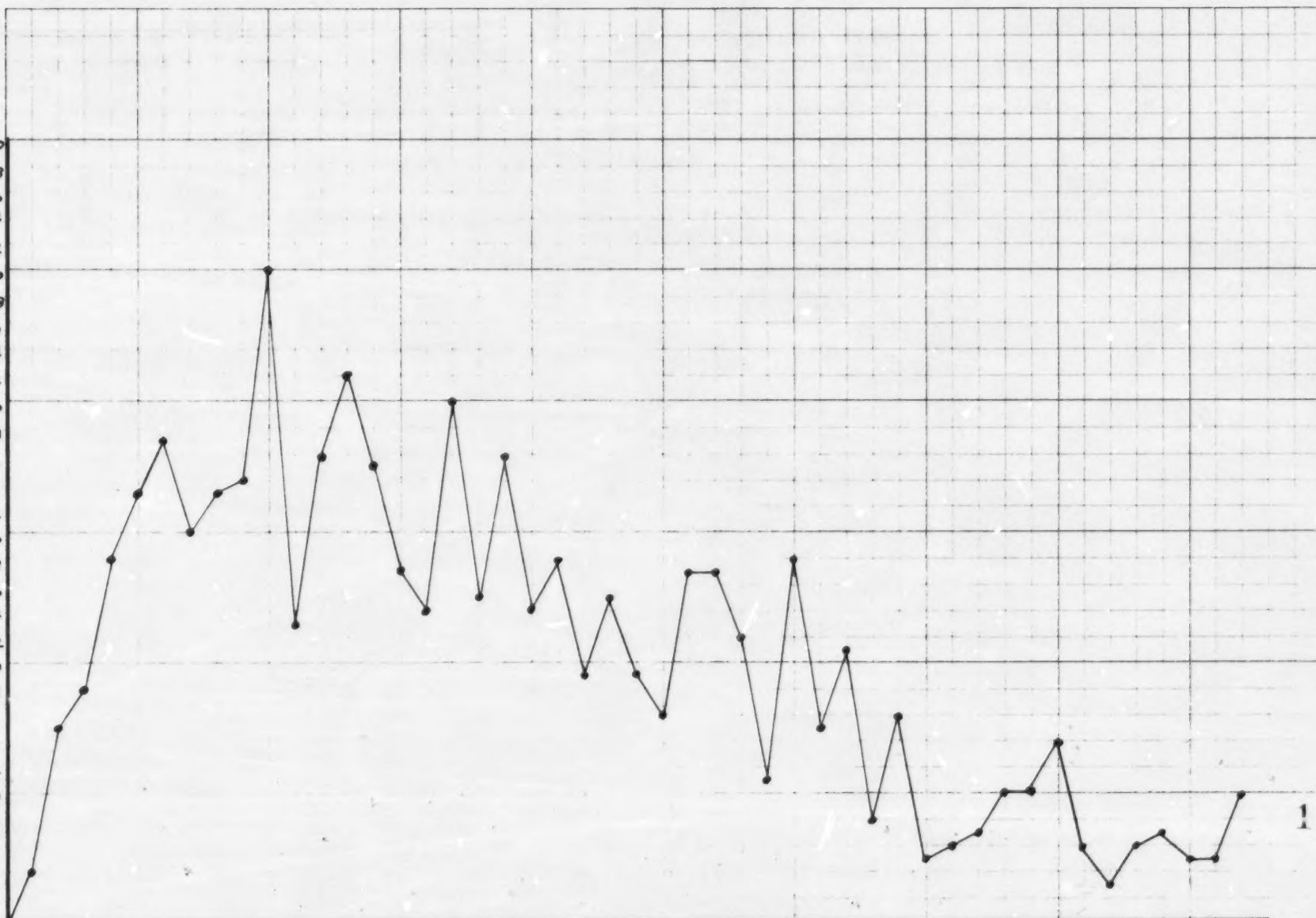
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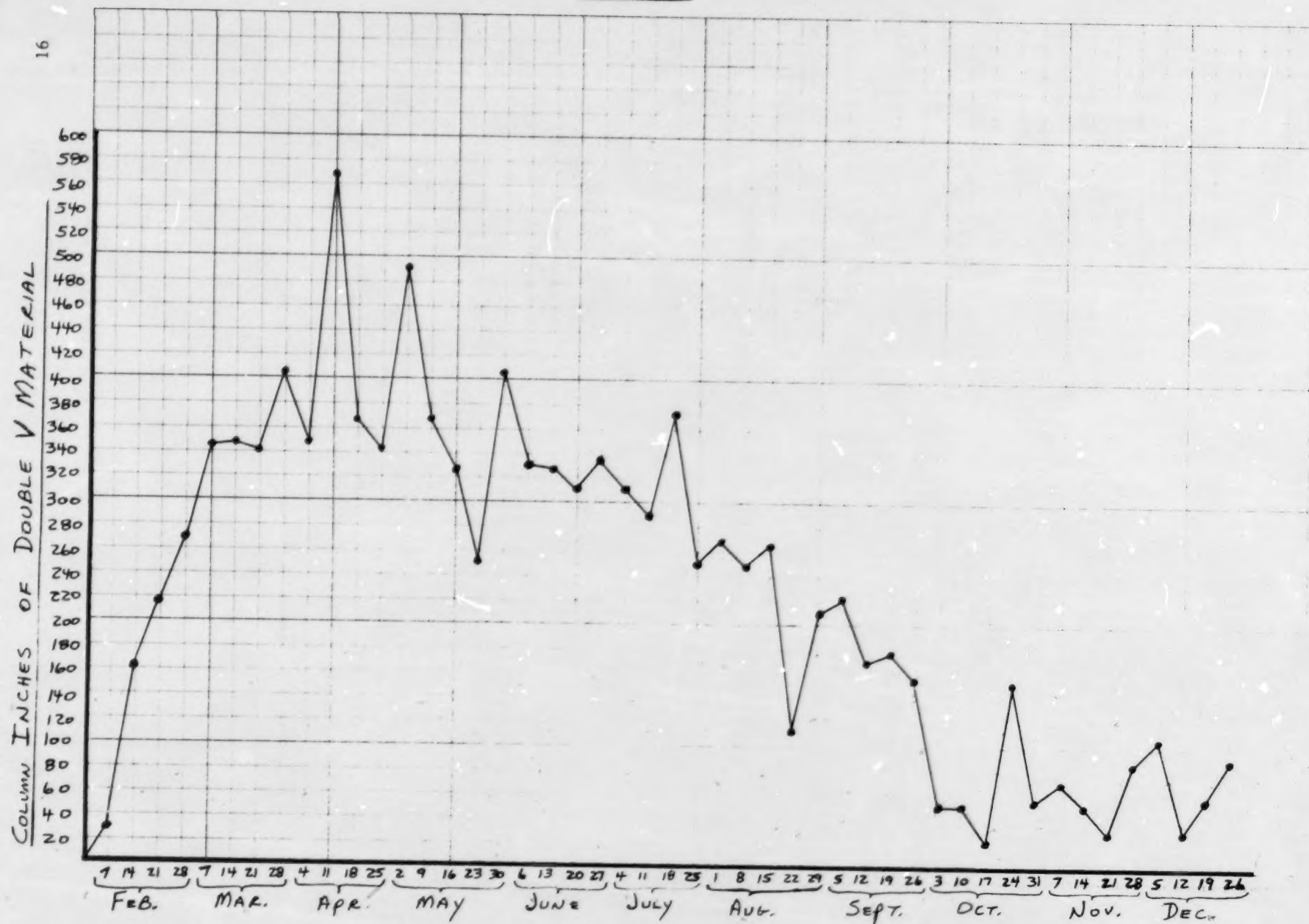
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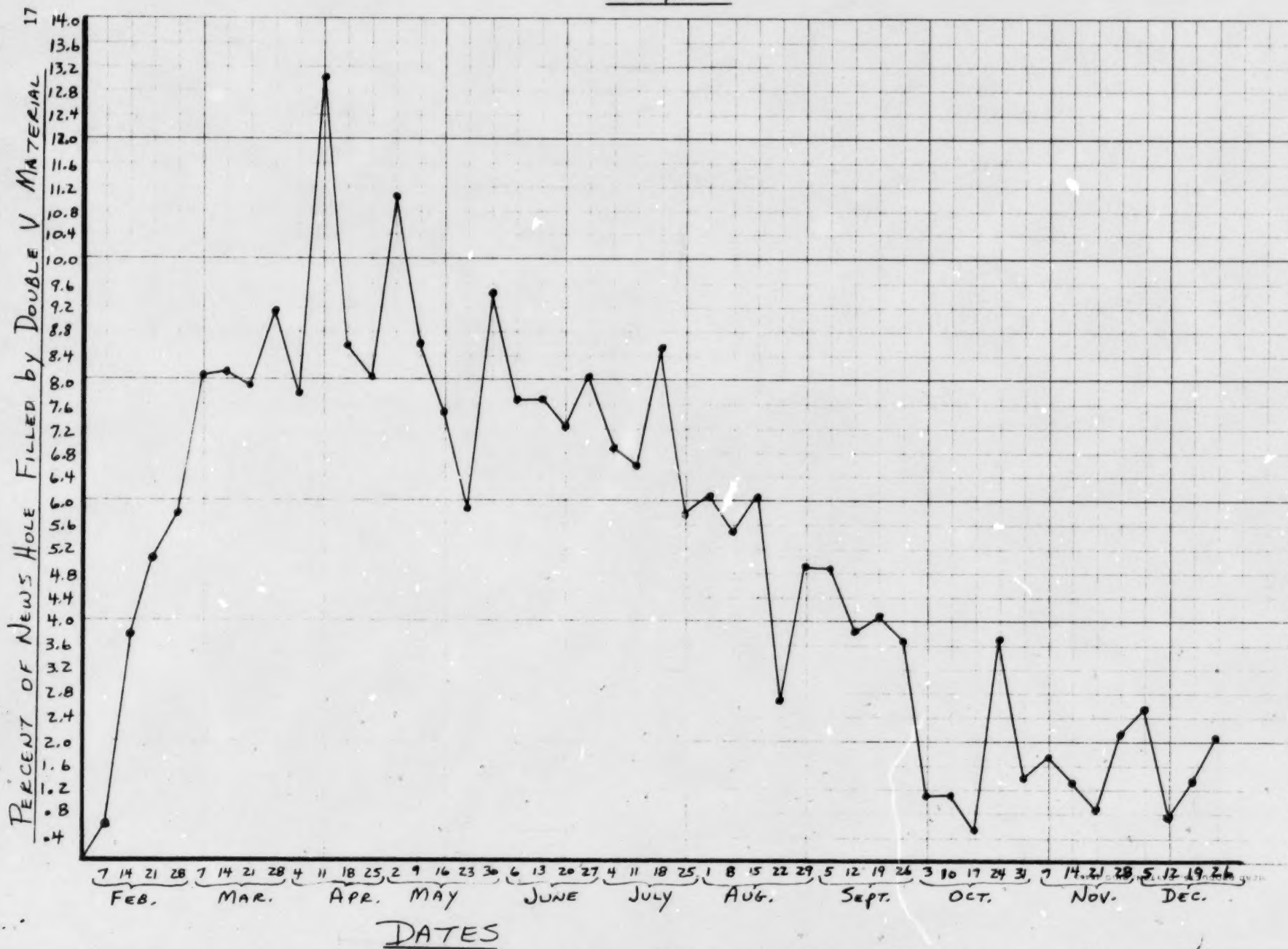
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GRAPH B



GRAPH C



of those responding to a Courier poll said that blacks shouldn't "soft pedal . . . demands for complete freedom and citizenship."<sup>76</sup> Even though the Courier interpreted that as a strong Double V endorsement, the graphs show the campaign never regained substantial strength.

Two other measurements also show the extent to which the campaign declined by October. Although 27.7 percent of the weeks in which the campaign ran in 1942 were in October, November and December, those months contained only 7.96 percent of the Double V column inches and only 9.69 percent of the Double V items.

Further proof of the campaign's decline is provided by looking at what was commonplace in the Double V. This included:

- Campaign items on the Courier's front page. In the first 16 weeks (Feb. 7 to May 23), there was only one week (March 14) when there was not a campaign item on the front page. However, in the remaining 31 weeks of 1942, there were only seven weeks in which the Double V appeared on page 1.<sup>77</sup>

- Letters to the editor about the Double V. Of 114 letters on the campaign, only seven (6.14 percent) were used after June 27.<sup>78</sup>

- Listing of Double V clubs. In a 14-week period from May 2 through Aug. 1, the Courier ran a list of Double V clubs 11 times.<sup>79</sup> Then, it never appeared again.

- Double V drawings. In the first 29 weeks of the campaign, through Aug. 22, the Courier ran 118 of the campaign's 121 drawings (97.52 percent), and there was never a week when there wasn't at least one drawing. However, in the final 18 weeks of 1942, there were only three weeks when one drawing was used.<sup>80</sup>

- Advertisements for Double V materials. From April 11 through Aug. 15, a stretch of 19 weeks, there was at least one Double V ad used every week except May 16. But in the year's final 19 weeks, ads ran only five times<sup>81</sup> with none appearing after Oct. 10.

•Double V Club News. This column heading was used in 11 of the 14 weeks from June 13 to Sept. 12.<sup>82</sup> Then, it never ran again.

•Double V Girls of the Week. In the 27 weeks from March 28 through Sept. 26, the Courier named Double V girls 14 times.<sup>83</sup> After that, the practice was discontinued.

\* \* \* \* \*

The finding of a sharp decline in the Pittsburgh Courier's Double V campaign in late 1942 is significant because it is the first evidence that any black newspaper outside of the South cut back on the Double V that year. While the Courier's decline may have been an aberration that did not occur on other black papers, it cannot be disregarded by historians. Not only was the Courier the country's largest black newspaper, but it originated the campaign and ran far more Double V material than any other paper, making it the militant and highly visible spearhead of the campaign.

Lee Finkle has made the most extensive study of the black press in World War II. He notes that the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, the fourth largest black newspaper, as well as many other Southern black papers toned down or eliminated the Double V in the summer of 1942 after the Double V was criticized by several well-known whites. The papers backed off because they did not want to jeopardize a friendly relationship with Southern white liberals.<sup>84</sup> However, Finkle, says the black press outside the South, "aware of its readers' approval, in no way softened its tone as a result of these attacks. . . . The 'Double V' and 'fight for the right to fight' became the wartime slogans of the black press."<sup>85</sup> Richard Dalfiume also has concluded that the "double victory attitude" was "constantly displayed in Negro newspapers throughout the war."<sup>86</sup> Historian Howard Sitkoff is unclear about when the Double V ended but says the black press became less militant by the end of 1943, when it shifted "much of its critical fire toward 'irresponsible' blacks advocating

sit-ins and civil disobedience."<sup>87</sup>

Even in adopting these historians' methods for examining the Double V (where newspaper stories that mentioned the Double V specifically were combined with articles which only vaguely espoused its goals), the amount of Double V copy in the Courier in 1943 was a mere trickle compared to the first half of 1942. This can be proven without a detailed analysis by scanning the Courier for the first six months of each year.

Several possible explanations for the decline of the Courier's Double V campaign by October 1942 can be dismissed.

A decreasing circulation definitely wasn't the reason. The N.W. Ayer & Sons Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals for 1942 shows that the Courier had an average circulation for the first six months of 1942 of 141,525.<sup>88</sup> A year later, the circulation increased an amazing 34.7 percent to 190,684, according to Ayer's.<sup>89</sup>

A drop in advertising also can be dismissed. On Jan. 31, 1942, the week before the Double V campaign began, the Courier ran 538½ column inches of ads. After the campaign began, the paper had less advertising during 1942 only once--512 column inches on Sept. 5.

Likewise, criticism of the Double V campaign in both the black and white press is not a plausible explanation. With the exception of the Norfolk Journal and Guide in 1942, the major black press (Chicago Defender, Amsterdam Star-News, Baltimore Afro-American and the NAACP's Crisis) never was critical of the Courier's campaign. The Journal and Guide, however, ran a sharply-worded editorial on July 4, 1942, that obviously was directed at the Courier although the Pittsburgh paper wasn't specifically identified.

Some organizations and a few of our newspapers in the metropolitan centers, now engaged in an increasingly militant campaign against racial discrimination in employment and in the armed forces, are in

need of statesmanlike direction.

Their drive is without clear objectivity. . . .They are creating the impression that they are engaged in an all-out effort to integrate Negroes into the intimate social life of the American white people, a thing that they are not giving any serious thought to, and something that is quite apart from the question of economic opportunity and civil rights for Negro Americans.

Much of this is due to the ineptness and inexperience of the men at the head of the several movements, and those who own or direct the two or three newspapers that have laid themselves open to constant surveillance by the government, as well as to attack from bigots and disciples of intolerance on the other side, who are trying to create the impression that the whole Negro press is seditious, and that all Negro leaders are void of the qualities of statesmanship.<sup>90</sup>

The Courier never noted the criticism.

The white press was far more vocal in attacking the Double V. The first notable attack was an editorial in the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch on April 26, 1942. The Courier was identified as one of those "belittling America's war effort" while seeking a revolution in long-established customs and practices. "The small minority of Negroes who make such a revolution the price of enthusiastic co-operation in their country's fight for survival are their own and their race's worst enemies," claimed the Times-Dispatch.<sup>91</sup>

The Courier also ignored that editorial. But it didn't ignore a Westbrook Pegler column two days later in the New York World-Telegram. In a savage attack, he blasted the Courier and the Defender, calling them "reminiscent of Hearst at His Worst in their sensationalism, and in their obvious, inflammatory bias in the treatment of news they resemble such one-sided publications as the Communist Party's Daily Worker and (Father) Coughlin's Social Justice." He concluded they were "dangerous."<sup>92</sup>

The Courier responded with a barrage of bitter editorials and columns. Schuyler, for example, said blacks shouldn't be surprised by "such attacks from the journalistic Gestapo of American fascism," who were only interested

in keeping blacks in "their place." "Well, I can tell these gentlemen right now," he continued, "that the closing down of every Negro newspaper in the U.S.A. would be of no help to white supremacy. The old days of scared, timid, ignorant Negroes are gone forever."<sup>93</sup>

Other noteworthy attacks against the black press in 1942 (but with a calmer tone than Pégler) were in the Virginia Quarterly Review, The Atlantic Monthly and the Saturday Review of Literature.<sup>94</sup>

As noted previously, Finkle believes criticism from whites had no effect on the Double V in black newspapers outside of the South. He is supported by Frank E. Bolden, the only surviving news columnist or news editor from the Courier's 1942 staff (he was a columnist and a war correspondent), who recalled that the paper "welcomed" the publicity. "If they (the white press) got on it (the Double V campaign), we knew we were attracting attention. That's what we wanted them to do," he said.<sup>95</sup>

More subtle attempts to tone down the black press, particularly because of the Double V campaign, came from the government. Early in 1942, the FBI began investigating black newspapers and late in the year recommended indicting some of the editors for "sedition" and "interference with the war effort." President Roosevelt refused.<sup>96</sup> Meanwhile, the Courier, which was one of the papers under investigation, ran columns and editorials throughout 1942 on the government threats to the black press' First Amendment rights. Its views were summed up in a May editorial which claimed that government officials wanted to suppress "all critical comment since it permits of only one point of view. To the Negro press and public this trend cannot be viewed with complacency."<sup>97</sup>

Historians don't say whether a fear of government suppression frightened any black editors into toning down the Double V. But Bolden supplied

the answer for the Courier.

Hell, no, the government pressure didn't cause us to back off. We welcomed it. It helped sell more papers when we wrote about it. We wanted Roosevelt to arrest one publisher for sedition and shut his paper down. But he was too smart to do that. He knew that would have given some white newspapers, such as PM and the New York Times, a chance to attack him.

Bolden said the FBI investigation was no secret. The agents came to the paper "day in and day out" and frequently went to lunch with the columnists and editors. "They'd tell us to shut our mouths, you're hurting the war effort, and we'd just laugh at them," he recalled.<sup>99</sup>

Another possible explanation for the Courier cutting back on the Double V campaign was a desire to improve black morale. Everyone agreed that it was bad in 1942, and the government's Office of Facts and Figures became so concerned that it called a special meeting of black editors in Washington, D.C., in March to discuss the problem. "It is amusing to see these people (government officials) so panicky over a situation which they have caused and which governmental policies maintain," said the Courier. ". . . If the Washington gentry are eager to see Negro morale take an upturn, they have only to abolish jim crowism and lower the color bar in every field and phase of American life."<sup>100</sup> The paper never retreated from its belief that the government was to blame for bad black morale, not the press. Therefore, morale could not have been improved by cutting back on the Double V campaign. Bolden confirmed that this was the view of the Courier's editors.<sup>101</sup>

So what explains the dramatic decline of the paper's Double V campaign in the last half of 1942? None of the columnists or editors left an answer although several of them wrote autobiographies.<sup>102</sup> However, Sitkoff hinted at an explanation when he wrote: "The war-time prosperity of the Negro middle class demanded a movement that would conserve (black) gains, rather than one that might undo the progress."<sup>103</sup> There was no question that blacks

made significant gains in 1942. Among the most noteworthy were: Black men were commissioned for the first time in the air corps, marines and coast guard, their status was upgraded in the army and navy and by September they were fighting in the South Pacific and North Africa; black women were accepted for the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps; the Red Cross began collecting blood from blacks; and they began being hired in large numbers at defense plants, largely because of government pressure on employers.

Bolden said it was these gains, and numerous smaller ones, which caused the Courier to virtually abandon the Double V in late 1942.

What else could we do? We had knocked on the door and gotten some attention and so the editors said, "Let's concentrate on what the people are doing." For example, why would I want to read about the Double V when people are already working in a war plant down the street? I wouldn't. These gains showed good faith intentions by the government and other people (those who owned war plants) and we felt we should follow suit. . . .

In other words, the Double V was like a roman candle. It flared up, it did its work and then it died down. It wasn't the sole reason things opened up (in the armed forces and industry), but it certainly woke people up.<sup>104</sup>

As the Double V began to decline, the Courier demonstrated its "good faith intentions" by replacing campaign material with positive articles and picture layouts about black gains. This is most noticeable in the full-page (or nearly full-page) layouts the Courier began running. The dates and subjects of the layouts were: March 14, black air corps pilots; May 23, black workers in defense plants; June 6, black shipyard workers; June 20, two pages on the 93rd army division at Fort Huachuca, Ariz.; July 4, blacks in the coast guard; July 25, black soldiers fighting around the world; Aug. 1, black WAAC's at a Des Moines, Iowa, training center; Aug. 29, black troops in Trinidad; Sept. 5, black merchant marine seamen; and Sept. 26, black women in defense plants.<sup>105</sup> Some examples of picture outlines are illustrative of the new tone that slowly crept into the Courier:

The 93rd Division is part of Uncle Sam's method of building up unexcelled fighting strength<sup>106</sup> for a battle against enemy forces. Okay, Uncle Sam, we're ready!

These black men (in the defense plants) realize that they have as much, or more, at stake than any other group of people. They know that democracy must survive. They know that democracy is their only hope. And, because they are conscious of these things, they have rolled up their sleeves and are enthusiastically helping in the development of America's might. "America first, last and always!" is their song as they work in the arsenals of democracy.<sup>107</sup>

It is possible that there are other reasons for the demise of the Courier's Double V campaign of which Bolden was not aware.

Newspaper publishers generally are conservative, and the Courier's publisher may have been apprehensive not only about government surveillance but what the Double V was doing to black morale. However, there was a dilemma--to back down from the campaign because of the pressure could have angered readers (as well as destroyed staff morale at the paper) and resulted in disastrous circulation losses. Therefore, backing off the Double V ostensibly to play up black gains was an ideal solution.

Another possibility is that the decline of the Double V was linked to war events. The Courier's publisher may have felt it would hurt the black cause ultimately not to tone down the paper's criticism of the government as the country's war fortunes improved in 1942 and the U.S. went onto the offensive militarily. This began with important naval victories in the Coral Sea and at Midway in May and June respectively, continued with the landing at Guadalcanal in August and concluded that year with the Allied invasion of North Africa in November.

Finally, there's the enigma of why no explanation was given to the readers for the campaign's decline. It's particularly puzzling since the Courier considered the Double V a success--200,000 members and 206 clubs by mid-summer. With those figures, it's probable that the newspaper was making

a considerable profit from its sale of Double V pins and stickers. However, newspaper records are not available to confirm this.<sup>108</sup>

Bolden said the Courier didn't explain the reasons for the decline because "the readers understood what was happening and why. The Double V had done its work. Why explain that? It would be just a waste of time and space." He countered doubt about that explanation by criticizing historians for being unable to look at the Double V as blacks did in 1942.<sup>109</sup>

It seems more probable that no explanation was given simply because the paper didn't want to publicize the campaign's decline and possibly anger readers. This would explain why the Double V tapered off slowly from June to October--it gave readers an opportunity to adjust gradually to the Courier's new tone and thus remain satisfied. In fact, the decline was so slight frequently from week to week that some readers may never have been aware of any change.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>James G. Thompson, "Should I Sacrifice to Live 'Half American?'" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Jan. 31, 1942, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>"'Double V' Clubs Unite, Fight for Abolition of Poll-Tax," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), July 18, 1942, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Richard M. Dalfiume, "The Forgotten Years of the Negro Revolution," Journal of American History, Vol. LV, No. 1, June 1968, pp. 91-92, 95.

<sup>4</sup>The most extensive study of the Double V is by Lee Finkle in Forum for Protest (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses Inc., 1975), pp. 51-128.

<sup>5</sup>Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 7, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>"The Courier's Double 'V' for a Double Victory Campaign Gets Country-Wide Support," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 14, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 28, 1942, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., March 21, 1942, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup>See photographs in the Pittsburgh Courier's national edition on the following dates and pages: March 14, 1942 (p. 19); April 25, 1942 (p. 4); May 2, 1942 (p. 14); June 6, 1942 (p. 19); Aug. 8, 1942 (p. 15); and Aug. 22, 1942 (p. 1).

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., March 28, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>See photographs in the Pittsburgh Courier's national edition on the following dates and pages: Feb. 21, 1942 (p. 1); March 7, 1942 (p. 13); March 14, 1942 (pp. 20-21); March 21, 1942 (pp. 1, 13); April 4, 1942 (p. 12); April 11, 1942 (p. 13); and April 25, 1942 (p. 5).

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Feb. 28, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Aug. 22, 1942, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup>See the following dates and pages in the Pittsburgh Courier's national edition: Feb. 28, 1942 (p. 1); March 28, 1942 (p. 1); April 4, 1942 (p. 1); May 9, 1942 (p. 1); May 20, 1942 (p. 20); Sept. 26, 1942 (p. 20); and Nov. 7, 1942 (p. 21).

<sup>15</sup>James Edward Boyack, "Denounces Limit Placed on Negro in War Efforts," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 28, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup>"Nation's Leader Give Support to 'Double V' Drive," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 4, 1942, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>17</sup>"Readers Want Double 'V' Made Into Pins, Emblems," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 21, 1942, p. 2.

- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 14, 1942, p. 12.
- 20 "Means More Race Interest," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 7, 1942, p. 12.
- 21 "An Important Campaign," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 4, 1942, p. 12.
- 22 "'Double V' Is Tops!" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 14, 1942, p. 12.
- 23 "Means New Day for the Race," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 7, 1942, p. 12.
- 24 "Lauds 'Double V,'" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), June 13, 1942, p. 14.
- 25 "Enthusiasms 1,000 Per Cent," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 28, 1942, p. 12.
- 26 "N.Y. Governor Endorses 'VV,'" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), June 13, 1942, p. 14.
- 27 Edgar T. Rouzeau, "'Prejudice an Enemy of Democracy'--Rouzeau," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 28, 1942, p. 5.
- 28 Frank E. Bolden, "'We Want Full Participating Rights in War to Save Democracy'--Bolden," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 7, 1942, p. 12.
- 29 "The Double V Campaign," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 28, 1942, p. 6.
- 30 "All Americans Can Rally Around the 'Double V' Slogan," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 21, 1942, p. 12.
- 31 "'Double V' Creed," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 11, 1942, p. 1.
- 32 "Why Our Slogan Is 'Double V,'" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 8, 1942, p. 6.
- 33 "Industrial School Girls Plant 'VV' Garden," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 1, 1942, p. 15.
- 34 "Double V Game in St. Louis Thrills Thousands as Yanks Win," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), June 13, 1942, p. 17.
- 35 Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 11, 1942, p. 1.
- 36 Ibid., p. 18.
- 37 See "'VV' Clubs, Affiliate Members of the 'VV' Clubs of America"

in the Pittsburgh Courier's national edition on May 2, 1942 (p. 24) and Aug. 1, 1942 (p. 15). States without Double V clubs included: Arizona, Idaho, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah and Vermont.

38,"Double V' Club News," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), June 13, 1942, p. 14.

39,"Double V' Service Emblem," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), June 13, 1942, p. 14.

40 See the following articles: George S. Schuyler, "The World Today," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 1, 1942, pp. 1, 4; "'Double V' Club News," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 8, 1942, p. 15; and "Charge Crosley Defies Executive Order 8802," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Sept. 5, 1942, p. 4.

41 See the following: "'Double V' Club News," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 1, 1942, p. 15; "'Double V' Club News," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 29, 1942, p. 15; photograph, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Sept. 19, 1942, p. 24; photograph, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Oct. 24, 1942, p. 11; and "Christmas Boxes for Troops," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Nov. 28, 1942, p. 4.

42,"NAACP to Continue Fight for Equality," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), July 25, 1942, p. 24; Horace Cayton, "UAW-CIO Convention Adopts Courier 'Double V' Program," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 15, 1942, p. 1.

43,"United Automotive Workers Resolution Adopting 'Double V' Slogan and Campaign," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 15, 1942, p. 4.

44,"Patriotic Drive Finds Favor with Divergent Groups," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 11, 1942, p. 5; "Cleveland CME Council Asks 'Double Victory,'" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 11, 1942, p. 15; "CME Confab Endorses Courier's 'Double V' Drive," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition) May 23, 1942, p. 1; "Courier, NAACP Programs Adopted," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 29, 1942, p. 15.

45,"NBC Baptists Endorse Courier's 'Double V' Drive," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 21, 1942, p. 15.

46 Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 28, 1942, p. 15.

47,"Thank You, People's Voice," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 14, 1942, p. 3.

48,"The Courier Thanks:--The Los Angeles Sentinel, Kappa Alpha Psi Journal," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 4, 1942, p. 1; "Five Newspapers Join 'Double V' Campaign," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), June 13, 1942, p. 14.

49,"Cappy Cat Gazette Supports 'Double Victory,'" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), May 30, 1942, p. 5.

- <sup>50</sup>Billy Rowe, "Razaf, Johnson to Compose the 'Double V' Song," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 14, 1942, p. 21.
- <sup>51</sup>"Lionel Hampton, Traveling by Train, Plays to 8,000 Whites at Miami Beach," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), July 4, 1942, p. 21.
- <sup>52</sup>Isadora Smith, "Nation Singing 'Yankee Doodle Tan,' New 'VV' Song, After Introduction on Radio," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), May 16, 1942, p. 21.
- <sup>53</sup>Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), May 30, 1942, p. 5.
- <sup>54</sup>Ibid., June 13, 1942, p. 14.
- <sup>55</sup>Frank E. Bolden, "Orchestra Whirl," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 18, 1942, p. 21.
- <sup>56</sup>"'Double V' Club News," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), July 4, 1942, p. 15; "'Double V' Theme for Elks' Lodge," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 15, 1942, p. 15.
- <sup>57</sup>See photographs in the Pittsburgh Courier's national edition on April 11, 1942 (p. 1) and April 18, 1942 (p. 1).
- <sup>58</sup>"Designer to Create 'Double V' Hat, Gown," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 25, 1942, p. 9.
- <sup>59</sup>"'VV' Theme Carried Out at Annual Spring Frolic," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 25, 1942, p. 22.
- <sup>60</sup>Photograph, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 14, 1942, p. 17.
- <sup>61</sup>Photograph, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 21, 1942, p. 16.
- <sup>62</sup>Chester L. Washington, "Sez Ches," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 21, 1942, p. 17. The Double V also was used in the following sports items: Joe Louis photographs, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 28, 1942, p. 16; "Bar Sepia Champ from Collegiate Fistic Meet; Jap Teammate OK!" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 18, 1942, p. 16; and "Fans Name Ezzard Charles Boxing's 'VV' Fighter," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Aug. 29, 1942, p. 17.
- <sup>63</sup>Wilbert L. Holloway, "Sunnyboy," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 21, 1942, p. 11.
- <sup>64</sup>Other times were: March 14, March 28, July 4, Aug. 22 and Sept. 19.
- <sup>65</sup>This was the longest running Double V item in the Courier, lasting until Sept. 1, 1945. On the next day, the Japanese signed the formal surrender documents and the paper's next issue used "--V--" rules instead of "--VV--".
- <sup>66</sup>Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Sept. 12, 1942, p. 17.

<sup>67</sup> Billy Rowe, "Billy Rowe's Notebook," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 21, 1942, p. 20.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., March 14, 1942, p. 20.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., Aug. 8, 1942, p. 21.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., April 25, 1942, p. 20.

<sup>71</sup> Photograph, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), March 28, 1942, p. 12.

<sup>72</sup> George S. Schuyler, "'Make Democracy Real,' Says Double V Originator," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), April 18, 1942, p. 5.

<sup>73</sup> Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), June 13, 1942, p. 14.

<sup>74</sup> "Ky. Pastor Speaks on 'Double V,'" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), July 25, 1942, p. 19.

<sup>75</sup> Photograph, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Feb. 27, 1943, p. 1.

<sup>76</sup> "'Double V' Wins in Courier Poll," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), Oct. 24, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup> The seven weeks were: Aug. 1, Aug. 15, Aug. 22, Oct. 24, Dec. 5, Dec. 19 and Dec. 26.

<sup>78</sup> Those seven ran on the following dates: July 25, Sept. 12 (two letters), Sept. 26 (two letters), Oct. 31 and Nov. 21.

<sup>79</sup> The three weeks when the list did not appear were: June 6, June 20 and July 25.

<sup>80</sup> Those three weeks were: Sept. 12, Oct. 24 and Nov. 14.

<sup>81</sup> The five weeks were: Sept. 12, Sept. 19, Sept. 26, Oct. 3 and Oct. 10.

<sup>82</sup> The three weeks when it was not used were: July 18, July 25 and Aug. 22.

<sup>83</sup> Double V girls were selected for the following weeks: March 28, April 4, April 11, April 18, April 25, May 16, May 23, May 30, June 6, June 27, July 4, Aug. 22, Aug. 29 and Sept. 26.

<sup>84</sup> Finkle, op. cit., pp. 63-65.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pp. 77, 112.

<sup>86</sup> Dalfiume, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>87</sup> Howard Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence," Journal of American History, Vol. LVIII, No. 3, December 1971, pp. 679-680.

<sup>88</sup>N.W. Ayer & Sons Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals: 1942 (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Sons Inc., 1942), p. 845.

<sup>89</sup>N.W. Ayer & Sons Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals: 1943 (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Sons Inc., 1943), p. 824.

<sup>90</sup>"Statesmanship Needed in Present Crisis," Norfolk Journal and Guide, July 4, 1942, p. 10.

<sup>91</sup>"The Negroes and the War," Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 26, 1942, p. IV-6.

<sup>92</sup>Westbrook Pegler, "Fair Enough," New York World-Telegram, April 28, 1942, p. 13.

<sup>93</sup>George S. Schuyler, "Views and Reviews," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), May 27, 1942, p. 6.

<sup>94</sup>Finkle, op. cit., p. 69.

<sup>95</sup>Frank E. Bolden, telephone conversation, Oct. 31, 1980.

<sup>96</sup>Walter White, A Man Called White (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 207.

<sup>97</sup>"Is Criticism to Be Suppressed?" Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), May 16, 1942, p. 6.

<sup>98</sup>Bolden, op. cit.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>"Hysteria Over Negroes," Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), May 2, 1942, p. 6.

<sup>101</sup>Bolden, op. cit.

<sup>102</sup>Autobiographies include: Horace R. Cayton, Long Old Road (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1963); and George S. Schuyler, Black and Conservative (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House Publishers, 1966).

<sup>103</sup>Sitkoff, op. cit., p. 679.

<sup>104</sup>Bolden, telephone conversations on Oct. 31, 1980, and Nov. 21, 1980.

<sup>105</sup>The pages on which the layouts appeared in the Courier's national edition were: March 14 (p. 5), May 23 (p. 5), June 6 (p. 5), June 20 (pp. 4-5), July 4 (p. 5), July 25 (p. 5), Aug. 1 (p. 10), Aug. 29 (p. 5), Sept. 5 (p. 5), and Sept. 26 (p. 11).

<sup>106</sup>Photograph, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), June 20, 1942, p. 4.

<sup>107</sup>Photograph, Pittsburgh Courier (national edition), May 23, 1942, p. 5.

<sup>108</sup> John Sengstacke, telephone conversation, Dec. 15, 1980. When he purchased the Pittsburgh Courier in the mid-1960s, Sengstacke said the Internal Revenue Service kept all of the newspaper's documents and he does not know what the government did with them. The IRS refuses to comment on the documents. In a letter on April 1, 1981, the IRS said: "Information relating to another taxpayer is considered to be confidential tax return information which is protected . . . from the disclosure requirements of the Freedom of Information Act."

<sup>109</sup> Bolden, telephone conversation on Oct. 31, 1980.